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tendency to increase the self-respect of the lower classes, and to educate them by active participation in public affairs ; to prevent the odious and invidious distinctions which create and embitter the animosities of caste ; and to diminish the temptation to disaffection, tumult, and disorder.

We have said above that the ignorant many, when possessed of political power, must choose from the enlightened few the persons to intrust with its administration, or must lose their power. It is very easy for such a government to be thus destroyed, for power will not long remain in the hands of ignorance, and the enlightened, with or without votes, are natural rulers. The object of the plan we have ventured to suggest is to secure obedience to this principle by law.

SIDNEY G. FISHER.

ART. IX. — GOVERNOR ANDREW.

JOHN ALBION ANDREW, late Governor of Massachusetts, was born May 31, 1818, at Windham, a small town near Lake Sebago, about fifteen miles from Portland,—two years before the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. The family was English in origin, descending in America from Robert Andrew, who immigrated to Rowley Village, now Boxford, in Essex County, Mass., and died there in 1668. It was connected by marriage with several of the famous ancient families of the Colony,—a grandmother of the Governor being a granddaughter of the brave Captain William Pickering, who commanded the Province Galley in 1707, to protect the fisheries against the French and Indians, and the mother of her husband being Mary Higginson, a direct descendant from Francis Higginson, the organizer of the first church in the Colony. A portrait of this old clergyman, his ancestor, depicted with snow-white hair and gray mustache, clad in a black robe, holding a book in one hand, on the index finger of which a large signet-ring is displayed, hung over the mantel

on the chimney of the Council-Chamber during the whole of the Governor's administration. The grandfather of the Governor, whose name he bore, was a silversmith, and afterwards a successful merchant in the old and wealthy city of Salem. He removed to Windham and died there in 1791. His son Jonathan was born in Salem and lived there until manhood, when he, too, went to Windham, and married Nancy G. Pierce, a teacher in the Fryeburg Academy, where Daniel Webster also was once a teacher. In after years they removed to Boxford, where they died.

The Governor was their oldest son. He was a school-boy at Windham and at Salem, and then a student in Bowdoin College. Of his college life Mr. Chandler spoke as follows in his felicitous eulogy at the bar meeting, held on November 4, after the Governor's death : —

“ He took no rank as a scholar, and seemed to have not the slightest ambition for academical distinction ; he had no part at Commencement. This rosy, chub-faced boy, genial, affectionate, and popular, gave no indications of future renown, nor of that ability, energy, and breadth of view for which he is now so celebrated. He was not regarded as dull, very much the contrary ; but he seemed to be indifferent to the ordinary routine of college honors, — possessed of that happy temperament which enabled him then and for many years afterwards to pass quietly along without a touch of the carking cares and temptations that wait on the ambitious aspirations of the young as well as the old.”

Immediately after graduating at college he came to Boston to study law, and prepared for the profession in the office of Henry H. Fuller, an uncle of Margaret Fuller. Then followed twenty years of steady practice at the Suffolk bar. It was not a conspicuous career, but in it his biographer will find the marks of all the great qualities he afterwards displayed in office, for never was a life more consistent. In the latter years of his practice before becoming Governor, he was engaged in a remarkable succession of cases involving high questions of constitutional law. In 1854 he defended the parties indicted at Boston for rescuing the fugitive slave Burns ; in 1855 he defended the British Consul at Boston against the charge of violating our neutrality laws during the Crimean war ; in 1856 he argued the petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* to test the

legality of the imprisonment of the free State officers of Kansas at Topeka. More lately, in 1859, he initiated and directed the measures for the legal defence of John Brown in Virginia; and in 1860 he was of counsel for F. B. Sanborn, at his discharge by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts from the custody of the United States Marshal, by whom he had been arrested on a warrant from the Vice-President of the United States to compel his appearance before the Congressional Committee of Investigation into the affair at Harper's Ferry. He had himself appeared before that committee as a witness the same year. On his theory of duty as a lawyer, he never hesitated to defend unpopular and even odious causes. In illustration, besides his defence of the British Consul, may be named his advocacy of Burnham, in 1860, against the inquiry of the Massachusetts Legislature, and also his defence in the United States courts, the same year, of the notorious slaver-yacht *Wanderer* against forfeiture. In questions of domestic relation, perhaps no member of our bar had a more extensive practice, or had made deeper study of the law. His mind thus was busy always with the higher problems of philosophic jurisprudence, and his course of practice had led him to comprehend thoroughly the mutual relations of the government and the people in all questions of personal liberty, so that when, in mature life, he was called to be Governor, he was already a well-trained political philosopher.

Whether he would be as efficient in practice as he had been studious of theory was unknown. Never but once before had he held political office, and then only for one session as a member of the lower house of the Legislature, although, to be sure, he became at once the leader of that house. The condition of his private fortune had debarred him from the practical political training which in this country almost always precedes elevation to the highest offices, and had required his uninterrupted devotion to a profession which always demands constancy as a condition of success. But, in 1860, he was suddenly chosen Governor by a popular vote larger than that received by any of his predecessors.

There was a furious snow-storm on January 5, 1861, the day of his inauguration. Without waiting for it to abate, his first offi-

cial act, immediately after the inaugural ceremonies, was to despatch a confidential messenger to the Governors of New Hampshire and Maine, to acquaint them with his determination to prepare the active militia of Massachusetts for instant service, and to invite their co-operation. Then followed, week by week, in the face of ridicule from many sources, and bitter opposition from many more, that series of military orders and those purchases of war material to which the whole country now looks back as evidences of unequalled foresight.

At last the signal-gun of the Rebellion was fired. Patient in the extreme through all the attempts to prevent war, sympathizing and corresponding with Mr. Adams during all the efforts and proffers to the South which were made in the faint hope to avert it, yet when it came he welcomed it as the sure solution of all difficulties. In his own memorable words spoken in the address with which he opened the session of the General Court which was speedily called, "a grand era had dawned," and he "perceived nothing now about us which ought to discourage the good or to alarm the brave." "Senators and Representatives," said he, "grave responsibilities have fallen, in the providence of God, upon the government and people,—and they are welcome. They could not have been safely postponed. They have not arrived too soon. They will sift and try this people, all who lead and all who follow."

Never was a finer illustration of the couplet of the poet, that

"When once their slumbering passions burn,
The peaceful are the strong."

This man, of sympathies nurtured on the most advanced ideas of his age, yearning, hoping, praying for a peaceful end of all wrong, yet possessed a foresight so intuitive and a mind so practical, that he had calmly prepared for war, unmoved by the ridicule and abuse of men of coarser fibre; and when war came, accepted it so solemnly and earnestly that there seemed and there was no inconsistency between his principle and his practice. "Devoted in heart to the interests of peace," said he in that same great address, "painfully alive to the calamities and sorrows of war, yet I cannot fail to see how plainly the rights and liberties of a people repose upon their own capacity to maintain them."

The arrangement of the private executive rooms at the State-House was unchanged during the whole of Governor Andrew's administration. It was faulty in many respects, and a few simple changes in it, enabling him to seclude himself, would have saved him from much care and annoyance. They were on the same floor with the Council-Chamber, and were reached through a long and narrow corridor, which led into an antechamber. Out of this the Governor's apartment opened directly, with no intervening room. It was a low-studded chamber, perhaps twenty-five feet square, lighted by two windows opening westward. In the centre was a massive square table, on the side of which, facing the door of the antechamber, the Governor had his seat. Directly opposite him, at the same table, sat his secretary. At a desk near one of the windows was the place of an assistant secretary. The chairs and sofa were very plain and covered with green plush. The large book-cases along the northern wall, empty at the beginning of his administration, became filled before the end of it with more than two hundred volumes of the correspondence conducted under his immediate direction. A large mirror, with a heavily carved black-walnut frame, surmounted the mantel, gas-fixtures projecting from among the carving; and on these, during the first year of the war, while Massachusetts was arming and equipping her own troops, he was accustomed to hang specimens of shoddy clothing or defective accoutrements, labelled with the names of the faithless contractors, thus publicly exposed to the indignation of the hundreds of visitors who frequented the room. His only means of seclusion was to retreat into a room beyond the antechamber, from which there was no other outlet than the door of entrance, which was of solid iron. Every frequenter of the State-House may remember seeing him, after being pestered beyond endurance, hasten across the antechamber into this room, where he would bolt and bar out the waiting crowd until he could finish some urgent work demanding freedom from the interruptions to which he was subject in his own apartment. Once behind that iron door he was free; and it was the only place in the whole building where he was secure from intrusion.

His patience, however, under all manners of interruption,

was marvellous. Now and then it would give way in little acts of nervousness, such as pulling unconsciously at a bell-rope which hung over his table, or insisting on the immediate attendance of an old and favorite clerk from the Adjutant-General's office who had been dead a year or more. By some curious psychological process, when the Governor had been especially vexed at anything which went wrong in that office, he more than once forgot the old gentleman's death, and sent down stairs for him.

He was accessible always to all kinds and conditions of people, and in the freedom of his intercourse with them he fully exemplified and might well have adopted the words with which De Quincey, in his "Confessions," introduces the story of the friendless girl of the London streets: "The truth is, that at no time of my life have I been a person to hold myself polluted by the touch or approach of any person who wore a human shape; on the contrary, from my very earliest youth, it has been my pride to converse freely, *more Socratico*, with all human beings, man, woman, and child, that chance might fling in my way, — a practice which is friendly to the knowledge of human nature, to good feelings, and to that frankness of address which becomes a man who would be thought a philosopher, for a philosopher should not see with the eyes of the poor liminary creature calling himself a man of the world and filled with narrow and self-regarding prejudices of birth and education, but should look upon himself as a catholic creature, and as standing in an equal relation to high and low, to educated and uneducated, to the guilty and innocent."

It was his custom to devote the early hours of the day, first to his morning mail; then to reports from the departments of the State government, and interviews with officials of those departments and with officers of the United States having business with him; then to interviews with officers from the field or engaged in recruiting or organizing troops at home; and finally, at some time between noon and one o'clock, to throw open the doors of his room to the public. By that hour a great crowd had assembled in the antechamber, eager for admittance. Except the similar though rarer public receptions by President Lincoln, there were no scenes in which it

was possible to witness more of the effect of the war on all classes of society than in those daily inroads. Instantly the room would be filled with the crowd. Then, with that patience which almost never failed, he would hear and examine personally into every case, or give the applicant in charge to his staff-officers to make the examination under his own supervision, and would do all that could be done to relieve suffering or anxiety, stimulate patriotism or reward merit.

He had not that smooth way of refusing without seeming to refuse, in which his predecessor so excelled. It was often to be wished, for his own comfort, that he could develop ever so small a degree of that official manner which checks and repels intrusion; but he never did. There was not, in his nature, the germ of formalism. One day, among the many exhibitors of military notions who beset him, was a man with a patent knapsack. There were many visitors in attendance, some of high distinction, awaiting audience; but the knapsack man was before them in obtaining his ear. He listened to his description of the article; and when he was told that some of our Massachusetts troops wished it as a substitute for the regulation knapsack, he forgot the presence of everybody, asked for it to be packed and buckled over his own shoulders, and then marched up and down the room, testing himself its asserted merits, before he would turn to any other business.

In those daily receptions, women anxious for the safety or health of fathers, sons, brothers, husbands, in the armies before Richmond or Vicksburg, or in the Rebel prisons, or having grievances to present as to the administration of "State aid" to their families; soldiers complaining of injustice or of suffering in the field or at home; selectmen and recruiting committees suggesting plans or asking favors to promote enlistments; an endless host of applicants for appointments, military and civil; citizens of every class seeking indorsement and aid of schemes for sanitary and other charities; petitioners for pardon of criminals, for admission of deaf and dumb or blind or idiotic children as public beneficiaries to the charitable institutions of the State,—these, and a countless multitude of others, on every conceivable variety of business, all found a willing ear and an attention justly proportioned to their affairs,

whether serious or trivial. To all these various wants and needs never was a heart more sensitive, never a disposition more paternal ; and this recalls the testimony borne by Mr. Hillard, his political opponent, but his life-long friend, when (at the same bar meeting at which Mr. Chandler gave the description of the Governor's college life, already quoted), after first declaring his belief that the loss of Governor Andrew was a greater loss to Massachusetts than that of any citizen either in the early or the later history of the State, he said that,

“In conclusion, he wished to make another remark, which might seem as extraordinary as that with which he opened his address, but which he believed sincerely was truth, and that was that he never knew a man whose daily life and conversation embodied the teachings of the Saviour as laid down in holy writ more than his. He never knew a man who left this world with less of the stain of sin than he.”

In spite of the harassing character of cares like these on a nature so sympathetic, his power of endurance was extraordinary. Almost invariably he was at the State-House as early or even earlier than either of his secretaries, and his appearance was always the signal for fresh work in every department of the building. Paying hasty calls at the offices of the Adjutant-General and the Surgeon-General, on his way, nine o'clock rarely found him absent from his own desk ; and there he continued always until sunset, and often until long past midnight, unless some public duty called him elsewhere.

His private affairs went utterly neglected. His family he rarely saw by daylight, except in the early morning and on Sundays, and to a man of so affectionate a disposition this was the greatest sacrifice. Even on Sundays there was often no respite of work. Sometimes, however, his children would come to his crowded room at the State-House, and linger there for an hour in the early afternoon on their way home from school. No matter how urgent his business, there was always a moment to spare for an affectionate word or a caress, and an encouragement to make a play-room of the chamber. During the first few months of the war his labor at the State-House averaged more than twelve hours daily, and during April and May, 1861, the gray light of morning often mingled with the gaslight over his table, before he abandoned work, dis-

charged his weary attendants, and walked down the hill to his little house in Charles Street to snatch a few hours of sleep before beginning the task of another day. It must have been an iron constitution as well as an iron will which sustained these irregularities with constantly renewing vigor. After his invariable bath and hasty breakfast he would reappear at the State-House as fresh as the morning itself, without a trace perceptible to the casual visitor of irritation or fatigue, while perhaps half an hour later his attendants of the previous night would come to their places cross and jaded.

Unsparring to himself, he did not spare others; filled himself with a sustaining enthusiasm, he expected and demanded from others efforts corresponding in proportion to their ability. His secretary once recommended to him an increase of the pay of a subordinate. The letter bears the indorsement instantly made: "I cordially assent, but *on condition* that he shall come at nine o'clock, A. M." This was in the case of an officer whose residence was out of the city, and whose duties kept him at the State-House almost always until sunset and often until midnight. It was an indorsement not unkind, — never from all those years can any of his associates or subordinates recall a single act or word of unkindness done or spoken by Governor Andrew, — but it was characteristic of his habit to hold every one strictly to the full measure of duty. So was his indignation, one dreary afternoon, the day before Christmas, at finding that the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth was closed half an hour earlier than usual. There was a severe snow-storm raging, which suspended business through the city, and the clerks of that office had closed it, forgetting that there should have been drawn and forwarded up stairs during the day, for the Governor's signature, a pardon which had been granted to a convict in the State-Prison, according to a custom which prevailed with him to grant one pardon, upon the recommendation of the Warden, every Christmas morning. It irritated him that the clerks below should have forgotten such a duty. During his own hard work through the day, the thought of the happiness which the morrow would bring to that convict had lightened his heart, and he felt a positive pain that others should not have shared that feeling. Though

unwell, he hastily broke out of the room, walked through the driving snow across the city to the house of one of the officers of the State Department, brought him back to the State-House, stood by him while the pardon was drawn and the Great Seal of the Commonwealth was affixed to it, signed it, and then despatched it by one of his secretaries to the Warden at Charlestown.

The preliminary investigation of applications for pardon he never delegated to others, even at the height of his military labor. By the Constitution of the State, the assent of the Council was necessary to confirm every pardon proposed by the Governor, and there was a regular committee for formal investigation of pardon cases; but it was his habit to decide whether or not to refer any particular application to that committee, only after preliminary investigation himself, oftentimes involving no little toil. During his term of office there was hardly a place of confinement of criminals in the whole Commonwealth, from Nantucket to Berkshire, which he did not personally visit. He believed that care of our penal institutions was next in importance, for the welfare of the State, to the care of the schools.

The legal obligation to consult the Council, not only with regard to all matters of pardon, but with regard also to almost all matters whatsoever of administration, whether of finance or appointment, was a great drain upon his patience. But there were certain advantages in it which he was quick to appreciate. Chiefly, it methodized in his own mind the reasons for his acts. The necessity oftentimes of expressing reasons to the Council, and the liability at all times to be called on to express them, compelled him to avoid altogether that vagueness of thought which accompanies the acts of most men. Almost daily, during the war, there was a session of the Council at which he was obliged to attend for one, two, or three hours. Usually it began in the early afternoon, after the close of his public reception.

Before leaving his own apartment for the Council-Chamber he was accustomed to retreat from visitors into a little intermediate room, where he partook of a simple lunch, generally of only bread and cheese with a cup of tea. Dr. Johnson was

not a more devoted lover of tea. He held to the theory that it is a positive nourisher of nervous force, and always was ready to drink tea at any time of the day or the night. He was present once at an informal dinner at a public place of entertainment in New York, when, in the midst of the courses, a servant appeared with a cup of tea and a plate of toast which he set upon the table before him. One of the gentlemen present thinking that this was some awkward mistake, directed the servant to remove them, when it appeared that the Governor had ordered them himself. He was simple in all his diet, although, like almost all busy professional men, he was a hearty and rapid eater; but he enjoyed and appreciated the pleasures of the table, for he was a thoroughly developed man in all the elements of manhood, physical as well as intellectual and moral. In his great argument against the principle of a prohibitory liquor law, while reciting the causes which combined to increase the perils of New-Englanders from drunkenness, besides "a hard climate, much exposure, few amusements, a sense of care and responsibility cultivated intensely, and the prevalence of ascetic and gloomy theories of life, duty, and Providence," he enumerates also "the absence of light, cheering beverages, little variety in food, and great want of culinary skill." He was fond of wine and used it freely, but always with temperance; and he despised, from the bottom of his heart, the prevailing hypocrisy as to its use. No one respected more the discretion of the individual who should abstain from it, either for fear of being tempted beyond self-control, or for example to others in danger; but he demanded equal respect for his own discretion. Believing that law has of itself no reforming power, that it may punish and terrify but cannot convert, he attacked the doctrine of prohibitory legislation at its root. In all his life, public and private, there was not a single act which afforded him more internal satisfaction than that attack. The subject had been with him one of earnest thought and clear conviction for many years; but for fear of dividing the people on a local question when they should be united on the great national issues, he abstained from presenting it to the Legislature until after the war. The result of the State election that occurred

the week after his death, completely revolutionizing the policy of Massachusetts on the question, and vindicating his position, was a proof of the sagacity with which he foresaw the verdict of the people on a theory of legislation which only one year before it required high moral courage even to challenge.

During the war, his determination to unite Massachusetts in its support was paramount to every other consideration, and was the key to many acts which pained some of his friends and offended others. The deference to certain classes of society of which he was accused in some of his appointments was only one feature of a settled policy. Many a gallant young officer went down from Massachusetts into Virginia to battle, an unconscious hostage for the loyalty of men at home, who in times of disaster might otherwise easily have fallen into indifference or opposition. This deep determination was rewarded with success. Massachusetts was a unit from the day when the flag ceased to fly over Sumter to the day when it crowned again the ruins of the fort. Divided, we might have perished. United, we led the van of the war. No one felt the perils of discord more than he, especially during that period when there was talk of "leaving New England out in the cold." The official records of those days show how he pleaded and argued with the West for a more cordial union; but while he had an implicit trust in the issue of the war as it did result, yet he had too little pride of opinion, and was too truly a statesman, not to consider and provide against a different issue. In event of the success of the Rebellion, he anticipated the formation of a northeastern confederacy which should combine the greater part of New England with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and a part of Canada; and if our present Union had been doomed to failure, he would not have considered such a destiny for Massachusetts as hopeless. In such a confederacy he beheld all the elements of a first-rate power, — a homogeneous population of more than five millions, rapidly increasing; the great harbors of Boston, Portland, and Halifax, with a capacity to command the commerce of the Northern Atlantic; control of the outlet of the great lakes by possession of the southern bank of the St. Lawrence; mines of

iron and coal ; forests of timber for every use of architecture and navigation ; the mechanic arts fully developed ; manufactures in maturity ; and education, literature, and the fine arts at the highest point of culture they have attained in America. But his heart was with the Union as it is. Never in public letter or speech did he tolerate the idea of its failure. He had an abiding faith in God's will to preserve it ; and with him faith always availed more than reason, the heart more than the intellect. But intellectually regarding the success of the Rebellion as a possibility, he devoted much attention to the relations of the British Provinces to New England, a study to which he was previously attracted, also, by a conviction that, in more intimate bonds of commerce with them, Boston would find rich sources of material prosperity. After retiring from office his interest in the subject even increased. He was deeply concerned for the success of the railway by which uninterrupted communication will be effected between Boston and Halifax ; and during the summer before his death he passed his vacation in a tour through the Provinces.

Much has been said, since his death, of his unvarying sweetness of disposition, which is liable to give a wrong impression of the man. He never allowed himself to be drawn into a quarrel, and he had no personal hatred, even against those who did him most grievous personal wrong. But his whole soul was devoted to the grand principles of civil and political liberty which were at stake in the war ; and with some men who, he believed, were obstructing right and justice in the policy of the government he was in mortal antagonism. Such hatreds as those he cherished intensely, and they harmonized with his natural kindness like shade and light in a fine painting. No one could be familiar with the steps towards emancipation, and the use of colored troops, without being sensible of his strong antipathies towards certain men who obstructed those measures. Over the bodies of our soldiers who were killed at Baltimore he had recorded a prayer that he might live to see the end of the war, and a vow that, so long as he should govern Massachusetts, and so far as Massachusetts could control the issue, it should not end without freeing every slave in America. He believed, at the first, in the policy of emancipa-

tion as a war measure. Finding that timid counsels controlled the government at Washington, and the then commander of the Army of the Potomac, so that there was no light in that quarter, he hailed the action of Frémont in Missouri in proclaiming freedom to the Western slaves. Through all the reverses which afterwards befell that officer he never varied from this friendship. When at last Frémont retired from the Army of Virginia, the Governor offered him the command of a Massachusetts regiment, and vainly urged him to take the field again under our State flag. Just so, afterwards, he welcomed the similar action of Hunter in South Carolina, and wrote in his defence the famous letter in which he urged "to fire at the enemy's magazine." He was deeply disappointed when the administration disavowed Hunter's act, for he had hoped much from the personal friendship which was known to exist between the General and the President. Soon followed the great reverses of McClellan before Richmond.

The feelings of the Governor at this time on the subject of emancipation are well expressed in a speech which he made on August 10, 1862, at the Methodist camp-meeting on Martha's Vineyard. It was the same speech in which he made the remark, since so often quoted : —

"I know not what record of sin awaits me in the other world, but this I know, that I was never mean enough to despise any man because he was ignorant, or because he was poor, or because he was black."

Referring to slavery, he said : —

"I have never believed it to be possible that this controversy should end, and Peace resume her sway, until that dreadful iniquity has been trodden beneath our feet. I believe it cannot, and I have noticed, my friends, (although I am not superstitious, I believe,) that, from the day our government turned its back on the proclamation of General Hunter, the blessing of God has been withdrawn from our arms. We were marching on, conquering and to conquer; post after post had fallen before our victorious arms; but since that day I have seen no such victories. But I have seen no discouragement. I bate not one jot of hope. I believe that God rules above, and that he will rule in the hearts of men, and that, either with our aid or against it, he has determined to let the people go. But the confidence I have in my own mind that *the appointed hour has nearly come*, makes me feel all the more confi-

dence in the certain and final triumph of our Union arms, because I do not believe that this great investment of Providence is to be wasted."

The allusion to the impending Proclamation of Emancipation by the President will be observed. Daily now for two years the Governor had not ceased to labor for it, in public and private. By speech and letter and personal appeal, by every appliance which wisdom and ingenuity could suggest, he had helped to work on the President for that end. But up to the final moment he trembled lest Mr. Lincoln might not be equal to the emergency. He knew that General McClellan had written to the President from Harrison's Landing, that "a declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies"; and it was to strengthen the purpose of the President that he joined at this time in the project of the convention of Governors at Altoona. His intention was to counteract the influence of McClellan and the "conservatives," by uniting the various States, through their chief magistrates, in an expression of loyalty and a pledge of support to the President in declaring emancipation as a military necessity. The plan had effect. The Governors were on their way to Altoona when the President anticipated their purpose, and preferred to accept their support of an act already done rather than their counsel to do it. Governor Andrew was at Philadelphia when the Proclamation of September 23 appeared. He sent back to Boston that day an unofficial letter too characteristic to be omitted.

"PHILADELPHIA, September 23, 1862.

"DEAR — :— Before starting for Altoona, I have telegraphed to Mr. Clafin, and I now write more fully to you. The Proclamation of Emancipation by the President is out. It is a poor *document*, but a mighty *act*; slow, somewhat halting, wrong in its delay till January, but grand and sublime after all. 'Prophets and kings' have waited for this day, but died without the sight. *We* must take up the silver trumpet and repeat the immortal strain on every hill-top and in every household of New England. Our Republicans must make it *their* business to sustain this act of Lincoln, and we will drive the 'conservatism' of a pro-slavery hunkerism and the reactionaries of despotism into the very caves and holes of the earth. The conquest of the Rebels, the emancipation of the slaves, and the restoration of peace founded on liberty and perma-

nent democratic ideas! Let this be our platform. No bickerings, no verbal criticism, no doubting Thomases, must halt the conquering march of triumphant liberty. GO IN FOR THE WAR. Hurry up the recruitments. Have grand *war meetings* all over the State. I hope our friends will begin at Faneuil Hall to-morrow night. Let not the Rebels gain by delays, neither in Massachusetts nor in the field. We can 'knock the bottom out' of the hunker 'citizens' movement before ten days are gone. But tell Claflin, Sumner, Wilson, &c., &c., to *strike quick*. Now, now, NOW! Our cause is bright if we are true.

"Yours ever,

"JOHN A. ANDREW."

This letter contains the nearest approach to political partisanship which he manifested during the whole war; and nothing save the opposition of the "citizens'" party, so called, in Massachusetts, to the policy of emancipation, could have drawn from him even that expression. During his whole administration he never once consulted with the State Committee of his party as to any of his measures or appointments. This alienated from him all the trading politicians, and would have broken down any ordinary man in caucuses and conventions; but he possessed a strength which was independent of small political managers. They were always against him; and the influence of almost all the old leaders of his party was against him also, from the day he was first named for Governor. This last he felt keenly, and often expressed himself concerning it in private; but he was too magnanimous and public-spirited ever to resent it by reprisals upon them, although his opportunities were ample. As the world goes, it was a natural jealousy on their part. He had ridden into the lists, a stranger to the old heroes of the political tourneys of the last twenty years, and to their surprise and vexation had carried off all their accustomed prizes. During the whole war, and after his return to private life, to the day of his death, he was unquestionably the first citizen of Massachusetts in the affection of the people and the estimation of the country. This they could never brook with patience, nor could they ever comprehend the manner of it.

His unflinching exercise of the veto power also insured the opposition of that always large class of legislators who are

too self-conscious of their own importance to appreciate the constitutional duty of the Executive. So did his opinions concerning removals from office alienate that same class of men. Only two removals were made by him during the five years he was Governor, and in each of those cases he filed written reasons for his action. In a few other instances, not half a dozen in all, he notified civil officers of his purpose to remove them unless they should tender their resignations, and in every instance he specified the causes of his determination.

In his military appointments he never asked what were the political associations of the candidates, provided only they were loyal men. Two years after the war began, he was not aware, in regard to half the colonels of the Massachusetts troops, what had been their political connections, and was quite surprised when he was told one day, that, out of the first fifteen colonels of three years' volunteers whom he commissioned, only one third at the utmost had voted for Mr. Lincoln for President, while more than one third had voted for Mr. Breckenridge. When it is remembered that the vote of Massachusetts for Lincoln in 1860 was more than one hundred and six thousand, while for Breckenridge it was only six thousand, the fact becomes more significant.

In regard to appointments over colored troops, however, he demanded not only loyalty and ability, but sympathy with that arm of the service, as a qualification. With the employment of colored men as soldiers his fame is forever identified beyond that of any other man; and no one had a clearer perception of the logical results of that employment upon the civil and political rights generally of that class of our people. In the very first week of the war, he wrote concerning the enrolment of colored men in the militia, that personally he knew "no distinction of class or color in his regard for his fellow-citizens, nor in their regard for our common country." In the paramount duty of allegiance owed by colored and white men alike to the national government, he found a logical and legal solution of all the technical difficulties in the way of emancipating the slaves and employing them as soldiers.

At last, on January 26, 1863, the official sanction of the national government was first granted to the raising of colored

troops. At a personal interview with the Secretary of War, that day, at Washington, concerning the coast defences of Massachusetts and the garrison of Fort Warren, the Governor obtained from him written authority to raise "volunteer companies of artillery for duty in the forts of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and such companies of infantry for the volunteer military service as he may find convenient." With his own hand the Governor then added to the writing, after the words quoted, the further words, "and may include persons of African descent organized into separate corps," and presented it to the Secretary for his signature ; and it was signed.

Hardly daring to communicate to the authorities at Washington the extent of his purposes under this authority, for fear lest it should be revoked, he hastily returned with it to Boston, and, the very day of his arrival, began the work of raising the famous Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers at the camp at Readville. It was a proud and happy day for him,—that bright May morning when it stood, complete, before the State-House, the equal of the best Massachusetts regiments which had preceded it, in the quality, discipline, and equipment of the men, and the character of the officers ; and when he marched between its ranks down Beacon Street to the old parade-ground of the Common, and it passed him there in review in the presence of more than fifty thousand spectators !

The Fifty-fifth Regiment, in all respects a worthy companion of the Fifty-fourth, followed it to the field. But the triumph over prejudice was not yet complete. The right of the colored soldier to equality with his white companions in arms remained to be vindicated. This, in respect to pay, the Governor effected after a long legal struggle over the case of the chaplain of the Fifty-fourth, a colored man ; and in respect to rank, after another long struggle over the cases of certain lieutenants whom he had promoted from among the enlisted men of the same corps on the recommendation of their superior officers. Well might the colored citizens of Boston resolve, after his death, that "the colored soldiers and sailors will ever remember that it is to him they are indebted for equal military rights before the

law"; but the poor colored women and children who ran by the side of the hearse over the whole of its long route from Boston to Mount Auburn rendered a more touching tribute to his benefactions to their race than ever can be expressed by the most eloquent eulogy. To them and such as they he was always accessible, and his heart and hand were always open.

Although he was delightfully familiar with his official associates, and in respect to freedom of access by the public was informal beyond precedent, yet he was a lover of ceremonial. He had as keen sensibility of the dramatic as of the mirthful, and in this sensibility found a great source of inspiration. He had a filial reverence for the history of Massachusetts, and studied it faithfully. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was president of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. At the time of his death he was engaged in collecting materials for an historical essay on the Siege of Louisburg. Among the minor measures which he persistently urged upon the Legislature, until they adopted it, was a recommendation to preserve the record of our Provincial statutes, by transcribing a copy of them which exists in the library of a gentleman of Norfolk County. Few men possessed more thorough knowledge of the unwritten history of our statute law. He was very fond of certain stately old provisions of the Constitution of Massachusetts, which in these democratic days it would hardly be possible to re-enact if the Constitution were now to be framed anew; such as the recital of reasons for establishing by law permanent and honorable salaries for the Governor and the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, and the whole chapter concerning Harvard College. Even in little things he manifested the same love of old associations. He took an almost boyish satisfaction in discovering that there existed in the office of the State Printer an old font of type, by means of which his first Thanksgiving-day Proclamation could be printed in precisely the same style in which he had seen those of Governor Brooks and Governor Eustis when he was a boy, and when they used to be issued on a broad sheet which hung over the pulpit cushions when the preachers read them.

Of the dignity of his office he was a jealous guardian. No better evidence of that fact can exist than is to be found in his printed correspondence with Major-General Butler, in 1861 and 1862. In all his official intercourse with the legislative body he maintained scrupulously the traditional ceremonies. The day of the Annual Election Sermon was one of great delight to him. Marching to the Old South Church, under the escort of his body-guard and surrounded by his associates in the government of the Commonwealth, it was easy to see in his face, as he passed down the old and narrow streets, the noble consciousness that he was no unworthy successor of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams.

The sentiment which grew up between him and his body-guard was something beyond previous example. There was hardly a member of it whose official respect for him was not mingled with personal affection; and though he had been a private citizen again for two years when he died, yet it was under their familiar escort that his mortal remains passed to their last place of rest.

This veneration for the history and traditions of Massachusetts had much to do with his earnest care of Harvard College. The fact that it was the constitutional college, so to speak, was an irresistible claim upon his official regard, and in its foundations he recognized the most available basis for building up, what the framers of the Constitution anticipated, a "University." He clearly foresaw how Massachusetts, by the limitations of its territory, must become relatively less and less powerful, man for man, than newer States of greater area. The method by which he expected to maintain the ascendancy of this State against such inevitable odds, was by making the Massachusetts man count for more on the destiny of the country than the man of any other State. For this he looked to facilities for broader and deeper education here than can be obtained elsewhere in America. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance he attached to ingrafting this policy on the legislation of the State, and the regret he felt that it was not appreciated and adopted by the Legislature on the occasions when he urged it, especially in reference to the land grant of the United States for schools of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

By nature his sympathies were strong and deep, and the instances of private distress which he was called to see during the war wore on him terribly. Gradually he became accustomed to repress external manifestations of emotion, but his sensibilities were not blunted by use. Internally he endured what only those to whom he opened his heart can ever know. Perhaps the actual wear and tear was increased by this suppression of external signs ; and, besides his private sympathies, there were anxieties as to the course of public affairs which he felt keenly beyond description, but which, for the sake of the public welfare, he concealed from observation. Never shunning responsibilities, yet he was fully conscious of their weight. These causes, more than all others, helped to shorten his days. In those five years of his administration he tasted the cares and sorrows, the hopes and joys, and concentrated the labors of a century of ordinary life ; and such an experience aggravated his tendency to the disease which at last was fatal. No soldier struck by a Rebel bullet on the battle-field died more truly a victim to the national cause. For many years he had known that he was liable to sudden death. Twice, during the period between his first election and the end of the war, he was saved from a fatal issue of attacks similar to that from which he died, only by profuse bleedings which themselves endangered life. The first time was in December, 1860, shortly before his inauguration. The second was in 1864, when he had engaged to speak, in behalf of the re-election of President Lincoln, to mass-meetings in all the principal towns on the line of the New York Central Railroad, from Albany to Buffalo, but was compelled to desist before completing the route. But this knowledge did not depress him, nor did it ever induce him to seek for personal ease or relaxation of toil, at the cost of others.

One great source of consolation and relief he possessed in a naturally mirthful disposition. It was more than cheerful : it was merry. He had as quick and lively perception of the ludicrous as President Lincoln himself, and his anecdote was free from coarseness. Of the Yankee dialect he was a master. He had studied it analytically, just as he studied the intricacies of the typical Yankee character. The every-day life of the country villages of New England, of their shops, farm-

yards, stage-coaches, taverns, sewing-circles, and household firesides, was familiar to him in all its details, and served him constantly for illustrations of stories which he told with a hearty enjoyment it excites a smile to remember. This mirth was so natural that it sought and found material for its exercise in all the affairs of his daily business, serious or trivial; but it never betrayed him into levity, nor was it tinged in the slightest degree with sarcasm, although it was often full of satire. It helped him greatly to be indifferent to all the little mishaps and annoyances, of which, during his whole administration, there was a daily multitude that would have vexed and perplexed any man of less animal vigor and buoyant spirit.

He had a good voice and ear for music; but all the musical training he ever enjoyed was that of the village singing-school. It was enough, however, to encourage him always to join and often to take the lead in congregational singing, and his earnestness always carried him safely through the psalm-tunes, and the others with him. Like all simple and enthusiastic natures, his was easily stirred by melody. He delighted in martial music; and no school-boy ever trained along through village streets by the side of the brass-band at the parade of a militia company with more charmed ear than he. But this taste was never far cultivated. He had little scientific acquaintance with the theory of music; although, curiously enough, he possessed a minute knowledge of the history of the development of the piano-forte, of which, through some odd fancy, he had made a special study. His knowledge of this and of some other specialties, not connected with his official or professional life, afforded him often much amusement by the surprise they caused. One day, last summer, a friend was relating to him a curious incident, illustrating the theory of spiritualism, connected with an old spinnet, still preserved at Paris, which once belonged to a favorite musician at the court of Henry III. of France. In explanation of the incident the narrator was exhibiting some photographs of the instrument, and describing its construction, when, to his astonishment, he found that the Governor was even more familiar with all the details of it than he was himself.

His favorite amusement was to drive far out into the coun-

try around Boston, with some intimate friend, and at last, when clear of the thickly settled suburbs, leaving the horse to travel almost at his own will, to abandon himself to a hilarity than which none could be more simple and genuine. Driving thus in the fresh spring air along the beautiful roads of Watertown or Newton, fringed and fragrant with apple-blossoms, he would overflow with a spring-tide of anecdote and humor. But he allowed himself few such holiday hours. Almost all his excursions from the city combined an element of business with what pleasure they afforded. Was it a sleigh-ride on a clear crisp Sunday morning in January; the object would be to attend at the dedication of a soldiers' chapel at the Readville Camp, or at the services in the chapel of the State-Prison, or to sit for an hour by the bedside of some invalid. Was it a drive into the green of the country, in the twilight of a summer evening; the horses would not turn their heads homeward without first stopping at the State Arsenal in Cambridge, the United States Arsenal at Watertown, the camps at Brook Farm or Medford, or the State charitable institutions at South Boston.

After the first year of the war he was accustomed to travel a good deal through the State in the summer season, but always on some official task which robbed him of a great part of the pleasure of the journey; and more than half the time he travelled by night, so as to save the daylight for business. On these excursions he would attend the Commencements at Amherst and Williams Colleges, the Wesleyan Academy, and the College of the Holy Cross; inspect the work on the Hoosac Tunnel; be present at the Agricultural Fairs, and at the closing of the terms of the Normal Schools; examine insane hospitals, almshouses, jails, and houses of reformation and correction; besides visiting the numerous military camps, at Pittsfield, Greenfield, Springfield, Worcester, Groton, Wenham, Lynnfield, and Lakeville, and the great camp at Readville. How delightful he made these journeys to others, by his shrewd observation, lively wit, unfailing good temper, and ardor for everything that was charitable or patriotic, the happy recollections of those who had the privilege of being his companions will forever attest. As a rule, he disliked to talk in

railroad cars. He was fond of occupying the hours of railway travel in committing to memory English verses ; and this is the explanation of his facility of poetical quotation. One summer, in this way, he committed to memory the whole of Mr. Longfellow's selection of minor poems, the "Waif."

His social talk was just like his speech in public. His public speeches, at least those made without preparation, were often effective, for this very reason, beyond the degree which the written reports of them seem to justify. The natural exuberance of his language and the heartiness of his manner made him remarkably successful as an *impromptu* speaker ; and it will be hardly possible for those who never knew or heard him to appreciate the wonderful influence which he exercised, through this faculty, during the war. Hardly a day passed, certainly never a week passed, during his administration, without some call for its use, and he never failed to win and command the audience, whether the occasion was a recruiting meeting, the departure of a regiment, the anniversary of a college, the morning exercises of a Sunday school, the religious services at a prison, the "love feast" at a camp-meeting, or the festivities of a dinner-table. If the test of eloquence is success in exciting emotion at the will of the speaker, he was, throughout the war, one of the most eloquent of men ; but unquestionably a great part of this influence was due to the events of the time, and the universal admiration of his public career, which predisposed every audience to be moved by his presence. By the critical tests of oratory, one would hesitate to call him a great orator. He will be ranged with that class of public speakers of which John Bright is an eminent representative ; and many of the secrets of the power and charm of the two men were the same. Some of his addresses, made after careful preparation, and many of his sayings in *impromptu* speeches, will endure as long as the history of Massachusetts.

For all his communications to the Legislature he made elaborate preparation, and freely commanded and used the work of others in many of their details. Burdened as he was with care, it would have been impossible for this to be otherwise. Whether preparing for a professional argument

or an official message, he was fond of laying in supplies and carefully organizing and drilling his forces before beginning to move, and then of moving *en masse*. At the time he died he had already begun to prepare a scheme of testimony and argument for such an elaborate attack upon the system of capital punishment, which he was planning to make before a committee of the next Legislature.

He had the habit of sending his manuscript to the printer with the various sheets pasted together into a long roll like a mammoth petition; and he made revisions in the proofs with a freedom which drove the compositors to despair. The handwriting was far from legible; and his signature, towards the end of his official life, became a puzzle to strangers. He made a practice of signing, himself, almost all the correspondence of his office. One summer, having (with his usual pains to satisfy even trivial inquiries) replied, over his own signature, to the request of a country schoolmistress to be informed, three months in advance, what day he would appoint for Thanksgiving, she sent back the letter with a suggestion that when replying to "a woman," he should write himself instead of sending the letter of some secretary whose name she could not read. His fair correspondent had better cause of complaint about the day than about the handwriting, for, that year, the Governor, attracted by the fact that the third Thursday of November was the anniversary of the signing of the compact on board the Mayflower, designated it for Thanksgiving; and the next day after his Proclamation he received a multitude of indignant letters from pedagogues, of either sex, all over the State, whose vacations had been planned upon a presumed appointment of the last Thursday of the month, according to a time-honored custom from which he never afterwards ventured to depart, for (he used often laughingly to say) that morning's mail contained more abuse better expressed than any other he ever received.

His pecuniary means were always small; so that he was debarred from an extensive exercise of private hospitality, and less of official business was associated with his domestic life than is often the case with men so genial. The office of collector of customs of the port of Boston fell vacant at the end of

the war, and an intimation was conveyed to him from the President of the United States that if he would accept it, the President would be glad to appoint him; but he instantly rejected the suggestion, and the place was then filled by the appointment of Mr. Hamlin, whose term of service as Vice-President had recently expired. Conversing with a friend on the subject soon afterwards, the Governor remarked that it was the most lucrative public office in the New England States, and as it had been the habit to entrust it to men who had held other high official positions and rendered large public service for inadequate pay, he supposed it was tendered to him in accordance with that practice; "but," added he, "I can accept no such place for such a reason. As Governor of Massachusetts I feel that I have held a sacrificial office; that I have stood between the horns of the altar and sprinkled it with the best blood of this Commonwealth, — a duty so holy that it would be sacrilege to profane it by any consideration of pecuniary loss or gain."

Metaphorical language like this, gathered from the Testaments, was as natural on his lips as if he were himself an Oriental. Few laymen were more familiar with the Bible, or had studied it with a more earnest spirit of devout criticism. The beautiful interpretation of the miracle of Cana, which he gave in his argument on the prohibitory liquor law in reply to the version of the clergyman who had argued the other side of the question, is a fine illustration of this familiarity, and of the catholicity of his religious doctrines. He was always a member of the Unitarian body of Christians, and for many years was the official head of its lay organization; but no man was less a sectarian in creed or practice. His face was well known in places of worship of every denomination. His two closest clerical friends were his Unitarian pastor and a Roman Catholic priest. One Easter morning he had agreed to go with his secretary to service at a Roman Catholic church, and that gentleman, when he called for him at the appointed hour, received a hastily written note, stating that he might be found at the little Quaker meeting-house in Milton Place, where he had gone to listen to his dear friend, Mrs. Rachel Howland.

Scores of illustrations of this catholic spirit might be written,

but this article trespasses already upon the province of his biographer. A faithful biography of Governor Andrew will be a complete history of Massachusetts during the civil war; not alone of its connection with the war, but of all its domestic affairs, none of which escaped his anxious care. It has been the design of this article, while sketching familiarly and affectionately the manner, not the substance, of his official life, to show how even in little things he exerted the same strong personal magnetism by which he inspired the people of Massachusetts in his greater acts, and how with him always, in all things, little or great, the spirit was everything, the letter nothing.

But a few additional words must be pardoned in reference to his position in national politics at the time of his death.

On January 5, 1866, retiring from office, five years to a day after his first inauguration, he delivered to the Legislature a valedictory address on which, more than on any other production of his pen, rests his claim to the fame of a great statesman. First, it enumerated the contributions of Massachusetts to the national cause during those years,—159,165 soldiers and sailors in the Federal armies or navies, besides \$ 27,705,109 appropriated from the treasury of the Commonwealth, in addition to the expenditures of the cities and towns. Then, asserting the right of Massachusetts to an influential voice in the determination of the great questions of national statesmanship raised by the issue of a war won by such sacrifices, it argued at length the terms of pacification which Massachusetts should advocate. In his own view, we could not reorganize political society in the Rebel States, with any proper security, unless, first, “we let in *the people* to a co-operation, and not merely an arbitrarily selected portion of them”; nor unless, second, “we give those who are by their intelligence and character the natural leaders of the people, and who surely will lead them by and by, an opportunity to lead them now.” To the question so often asked during the two years since Governor Andrew retired from public life, Did he agree with Congress or with the President, in the strife still raging between them? these propositions render a clear reply. The action of neither was satisfactory to him; and he awaited patiently, in private life,

the day when experience should vindicate the position he was so early to discern and so intrepid to assume.

That the course of the public temper is now in accord with his views, and that their indorsement by the people at the next election of President would have summoned him from his retirement to adorn and ennoble a national office of next to the highest honor, is a common assertion since his death. That Massachusetts, in losing him, lost that one of her citizens whose ties of sympathy with public men of other sections of the Union were more nearly universal than those of any other, is a fact quite as generally recognized.

But he lived long enough to leave a fame as enduring as shall be the Commonwealth he governed. Of all his illustrious predecessors no one achieved more "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." He made the first preparations for the war and received at its close the triumphant standards of the hundred regiments he organized to wage it. "He ordered the overcoats, and he received the flags!" Every Massachusetts man knows the glorious history implied in that brief sentence. Of his departure after such toil and such success one well may use the verses of the *Samson Agonistes*, those favorite verses which he himself selected for the inscription on the monument at Lowell of the first martyrs of the war:—

"He to Israel

Honor hath left, and freedom, let but them
Find courage to lay hold on this occasion;
To himself and father's house eternal fame;
And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
With God not parted from him,
But favoring and assisting to the end.
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

A. G. BROWNE, JR.